

SR REVIEWS Books

FROM THE DIARY OF A
COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY

by Pavel Kohout
translated from the Czech
by George Thelner
McGraw-Hill, 307 pp., \$7.95

Reviewed by Sanche de Gramont

In 1945 a sixteen-year-old Czech school-boy named Pavel Kohout watched

Russian tanks enter Prague to liberate it from the Germans. In 1968 Kohout, now a well-known playwright, saw Russian tanks once again in the streets of Prague, this time in a newspaper photograph. Kohout was vacationing in Italy, and the tanks were putting down the government of Alexander Dubček, who had attempted to create "socialism with a human face" in Czechoslovakia.

Kohout's *From the Diary of a Counter-Revolutionary* concerns the intervening two decades of political turmoil in his country, centering around the events of 1968. He uses the term counter-revolutionary in an ironic sense, for it is the one the Communists applied to those who opposed the Soviet invasion. The diary is actually a series of three alternating journals, distinguished in the book by different type faces. The first follows Kohout in Prague from 1945 through a twenty-year struggle as a Communist writer and intellectual. The second is the diary of the "Prague spring" of 1968, when Antonin Novotny, the Stalinist hard liner, was replaced by Dubček as first secretary of the party, and the iceberg formed during twenty years of subservience to Moscow began to thaw. The final diary recounts Kohout's Italian holiday, his arguments with his mistress, and his decision to return home. Although the technique of running together different diaries can be dislocating, it admirably expresses the episodic, fragmented quality of Kohout's life.

The book, however, is much more than an account of recent events in Czechoslovakia; it is the complicated biography of a generation that grew up questioning its allegiance to a Soviet satellite state. Great events are introduced obliquely, through commonplace incidents. One morning Kohout's mother wakes him with the news: "They're speaking nothing but Czech

on the radio today." A streetcar conductor tells a German flier that he can no longer accept German currency. Several days later Kohout is riding on the turret of a Russian tank. A year later Kohout is climbing the statue of St. Wenceslaus in the center of Prague to get a better view of the withdrawing Red Army. In two years—it is 1948—he is again in the streets, demonstrating in favor of the Communist coup that has ousted the Beneš government and installed Clement Gottwald. Kohout is a loyal Communist, a party member whose sympathy for Russia

survives Stalinism, survives the treason trials of the Fifties, survives sudden reversals such as Khrushchev's Twentieth Party Congress speech denouncing Stalin. When Stalin died in 1953, Kohout wrote: "We had admired and loved Stalin so much that we never thought of his death, never thought him mortal. Now we were shocked to the core. At times it seemed to us the end of everything." This belief in Russia as a savior and Stalin as a father figure was destroyed in one abrupt moment in August 1968, when Kohout heard an Italian news vendor shouting: "*Cecoslovacchia e occupata.*"

History has its onlookers and its protagonists, and Kohout is necessarily a protagonist, caught up in the Communist crises of the Fifties and Sixties. Political events have become intertwined with his personal life. He tells us in the same breath about the two strands of his destiny, on the one hand his marriage and divorce and the death of his parents, on the other his difficulties with censorship and his stunned disbelief upon hearing the denunciation of Stalin in 1956.

The story of his three closest school friends is particularly telling: One dies on the Prague barricades in 1945; one becomes a CIA agent and is caught and sentenced to twelve years in prison; and the third becomes a state functionary whom Kohout meets, many years later, in the Czech embassy in Rome and who attempts to explain away the Soviet invasion. The real motive, he says, was a show of strength to oblige the West to prolong the existence of NATO, for if NATO crum-

bles, the Warsaw Pact crumbles, and Communism without the Warsaw Pact would be in danger in such countries as Hungary and Poland where it has not taken firm root. Kohout replies: "Are you trying to tell me that sincere Socialists and friends have been sacrificed for the sake of insincere ones?"

Having lived through that Prague spring when everything seemed possible, Kohout returned to a Prague where nothing seemed possible. His book, however, shows that there is a Czech genius for overcoming oppression and teaches us lesson: Let each man be his own historian.

STATINTL

BALTIMORE NEWS AMERICAN

7 DEC. 1971

CIA Secretly Claims

Credit for Dubcek Rise

Chicago Sun-Times

WASHINGTON — The Central Intelligence Agency has secretly claimed a large share of credit for the rise of the liberal and ill-fated Dubcek regime in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

The specific claim is that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty — two CIA broadcasting stations in West Germany — were instrumental in provoking the ouster of Antonin Novotny, a pro-Soviet Stalinist, as head of the Czech Communist party.

Alexander Dubcek replaced Novotny in January, 1968 and established a major program of liberation that led to the Soviet invasion the following August.

IN JUSTIFYING the invasion, Moscow alleged that members of the Dubcek regime were plotting with Western agents to upset the Communist system in Czechoslovakia.

But Senate sources, who have investigated the activities of RFE and RL, discounted any parallel to the Hungarian uprising in 1956, when RFE was accused of encouraging the insurgents to expect the United States to intervene militarily against the Russians.

A close check of subsequent transmissions, one source said, showed that the two stations have scrupulously avoided any statements implying that the United States might come to the aid of liberal, anti-Soviet regimes in Eastern Europe.

THE FATE of RFE and RL is in the hands of a Senate-House conference committee debating how to shift their operations from the CIA to above-board government control. Emergency financing for the stations ends today but enough CIA funds are thought to be on hand to keep them going until Congress finally makes up its mind.

The CIA's role in the events in Czechoslovakia came to light in a confidential report by the Council on Foreign Relations that has been obtained by the Chicago Sun-Times.

The report contains a digest of a discussion between several former high-ranking CIA officials.

Jan. 8, 1968, three days after Dubcek replaced Novotny.

AMONG THOSE taking part were the late Allen Dulles, first director of the CIA, and Richard Bissell, former deputy director for plans (clandestine operations).

During the discussion, one of the participants, obviously relying upon CIA information, declared: "A couple of much-criticized public media projects (cited by name) had proven of value, as the fall of Novotny in Czechoslovakia suggested."

Other reliable intelligence sources confirmed that the censored projects cited were RFE and RL. The sources said the two stations successfully disparaged Novotny as an antiquated Stalinist and played up the possibility of reform through utopian socialism.



Way to India-Pakistan peace

With the recognition by India of Bangla Desh as a sovereign nation, the liberation struggle in East Pakistan has taken a decisive turn.

In the December 1970 Pakistani elections, the Awami League of East Pakistan won a majority of the seats in the national Assembly, 167 of 313. These 167 seats were all but two of the 169 allotted to East Pakistan in the Assembly.

The militarist Yahya Khan regime refused to accept the electoral verdict, banned the scheduled March 1 meeting of the Assembly, and launched a military offensive in which hundreds of thousands of East Pakistan civilians, men, women and children, were massacred, and from which some ten million fled into India.

Yahya Khan's savage repression continues today.

ROLE OF NIXON GOVERNMENT

The U.S. resolution's statement to the Security Council that the conflict between Pakistan and India will "endanger the peace," that the U.S. seeks to "secure and maintain the peace in the area," is sickening in its duplicity and deceit.

It was the U.S. which encouraged Yahya Khan's massacre; it was the Nixon administration which continued to send arms to the Yahya Khan regime, defying a ban on such shipments by the U.S. Congress, even as Yahya Khan was murdering East Pakistanis.

That is the situation, disguised as "cease fire," to which the U.S. resolution would return East Pakistan.

That is what the charge of Soviet "interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan," by Chinese Ambassador Huang Hua, intends to cover up.

Of the five permanent members of the Security Council only the U.S. and China voted for the U.S. resolution. The Soviet Union voted against; Britain and France abstained.

ROOT CAUSES OF CONFLICT

The key issue confronting the Security Council is, as stated in the Soviet resolution presented by Ambassador Jakov Malik, a "political settlement in East Pakistan." Such a settlement would "inevitably result in the cessation of hostilities," as the Soviet Union holds, for the root causes of the present conflict are the "acts of violence of Pakistani forces in East Pakistan."

The main opponent of the Soviet resolution was the White House. But it let the Chinese delegation carry the ball. Ambassador Huang cast the necessary veto, while Ambassador George Bush sat by, in abstention.

Ambassador Huang's veto and his actions during the debate were part of an almost unbelievable escalation in the anti-Soviet campaign of the Maoist leadership of China.

Ambassador Bush and Huang operated hand in glove in denouncing India as the aggressor. Ambassador Huang contributed anti-Soviet slander of a virulence that has not been heard in the United Nations since the heyday of Joe McCarthy.

The vile denunciation of the Soviet Union as "social imperialist," while unoriginal, having its sources in Trotskyism, is exceedingly perilous to the peace of the world.

The Maoists' and anti-Sovietism is paralleled by their pro-imperialist denunciation of Bangla Desh as a "so-called" nation, "created" by the Soviet Union.

Leaving no bases untouched, the Maoists, careening wildly to the Right, reiterated to the Security Council their support for the counterrevolutionary movement in Czechoslovakia in 1968. That was White House-CIA policy, also.

NIXON'S PHONY NEUTRALITY

President Nixon's announcement yesterday of a position of "absolute neutrality," superficially impartial, is deceitful in its essence.

U.S. policy in the Security Council today is anything but "neutral." It absolves the militarist Pakistan regime of guilt for the savage repression which began last March. It accuses India of being the "major aggressor."

The issue is a political settlement in East Pakistan. The right of the people of East Pakistan to determine their own destiny is the crux of such political settlement. They deserve the support of the American people in their just cause.

7 MAR 1971

Around the World

Prague Trial

PRAGUE — A criminal-court trial of 19 Czechoslovak students charged with "Trotskyite, Maoist and Zionist activities financed by the CIA" resumed, Czech sources said. ✓

The trial, which began Monday, was postponed after a German woman defendant complained that she had not received a copy of the charges in her native language.

Defense attorneys expect the trial to continue at least two weeks. The 15 men and four women on trial face possible sentences of up to five years in prison if convicted.

SHREVEPORT, LA.

TIMES

STATINTL

M - 91,183

S - 115,298

JUL 14 1970

Czechoslovakia: Purge Grinds On

The removal of Alexander Dubcek from his ceremonial and powerless ambassadorial position got the headlines, but the hard fact is that the purge of Communist "moderates" in Czechoslovakia continues to run deep and strong.

As so often happens in a totalitarian society, those who did the brutal purging are now themselves being purged. These are the "commissions" which rule on the "reliability" of Red party members.

Hard-liners in that unhappy land declare now that the commissioners were not tough enough—that "notorious hotbeds of reform" still exist—and so the purgers are also getting the axe.

Just how deep has the purge cut? Experts on East European affairs estimate that the Czech Communist party, which claimed close to 1.7 million members before the Russian invasion, will soon be down to 500,000 members.

It appears that the last creative and intellectual groups, who made Czechoslovakia the cultural capital of Eastern Europe two years ago, will be wiped out in this latest tightening-up.

The regime has already declared unions of journalists and other media institutions defunct. Another purge of the Czech Academy of Sciences is beginning. And the historical institute is under fire.

And so the long night of Communist vengeance in Czechoslovakia grows darker still.

Dubcek on Trial?

Alexander Dubcek, the man who wanted to put a "human face"

on communism in Czechoslovakia, has been made to suffer — suffer so much — for what his Red cohorts consider the sin of "deviation."

Caught in the drip-drip Red torture system that is far more painful than physical abuse, former Party Chief Dubcek has been forced to dismantle the very reforms he instituted in the "Prague Spring" of 1968.

Later Dubcek was forced to watch as his successor publicly and officially thanked the Kremlin for sending in troops and tanks to occupy Czechoslovakia. Finally he was shuttled off to an ambassadorship in Turkey.

But the Russians and the Czech Red hard-liners evidently feel that Dubcek's punishment is not yet complete. For he has now been removed as ambassador and expelled from the Czech Communist party — made an "unperson" in the Communist world.

At last report, Dubcek was said to be under heavy police guard in Prague's Sanops Clinic, supposedly undergoing "treatment" for "severe nervous depression."

But there is reason to believe even this isn't the end of the ordeal for Dubcek. There is talk of a Communist "show trial" for the fallen leader.

If this sort of thing develops, we can look for Dubcek and his key associates to be put on "trial" where they will "confess" to being tools of the American CIA and thank the "court" for ordering their execution as traitors.

No, the Reds probably are not through with Dubcek — or Czechoslovakia — yet.

20 MAY 1970

STATINTL

Henry Taylor / Orders from Prague?



ARE part of the campus disorders a Red plot? You be the judge.

The CIA and FBI know that the center for planning student disorders is in Prague, within the shadow of the Ruzyne airport. There the immense International Union of Students (IUS), financed and brain-trusted by Moscow, is supporting university anarchists here and thruout the free world.

The Kremlin departmentalizes this place into "country desks." Each section supervises a country. Cunningly, each tailors the "issues" for each country. Naturally, the IUS drums on the Vietnam issue here and "Peace! Peace! Peace!" to further a Red victory in Southeast Asia.

A Pole, Vlod Konarski, a man with a bite like a saber-tooth tiger, supervises the British thrust. The IUS vehicle there is the militant Radical Student Alliance in London. Two subdivisions are supervised by Jean Bougareau, a Frenchman, and Martin Abein, who is Dutch.

In Eire the IUS thrust, locally called The International Movement, is based at Trinity College, Dublin. The IUS supervisor is Hardial Sinh Bains, a naturalized Canadian born in India.

A BAINS sidekick is Ralph Schoenman, 34, the student shepherd of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation — the man who concocted the mock trial of President Johnson in Stockholm in protest against Vietnam. Iron-fisted Schoenman served a "martyr" stretch in Montjoy Prison, Dublin. Britain banned Schoenman and Scotland Yard caught him. To the dismay of the CIA and FBI, Schoenman had an American passport.

In West Germany the Berlin police docu-

mented the IUS's control of Rudolf Dutschke ("Red Rudi") when Dutschke was arrested on April 11, 1968, during riots in nearly all the West German universities.

IN France the IUS thrust is supervised by Daniel Cohn-Bendit ("before you can build you must destroy"), who is not even French. He's German. The success, typified by the March 3 Nanterre campus mayhem which saw Dean Paul Ricouer kidnaped and 125 policemen injured, has all but paralyzed French education. University faculty members are brutalized and kidnaped almost daily.

I had lunch in New York not long ago with Italian Foreign Minister Aldo Moro. Italy, after France, has enacted a new university reformlaw. Mr. Moro, himself a professor, sponsored it. "But what can we do?" he asked. "In my country, as in France, your country and thruout the free world, the Reds' technique is always to up their demands with every concession they gain."

Japanese Premier Eisaku Sato spoke similarly on his visit here. He said that last year student arrests in campus disorders exceeded 14,000 (ours exceeded 3,600) and that the IUS thrust has reduced Japanese education to a shambles. The IUS vehicle there is the immense Zengakuren student organization along with five other factions.

The IUS also runs terrorist training centers for African students. The CIA has uncovered them in Budapest and Warsaw and in Leipzig, Bernau and Bautzen, East Germany. These have trained and sent back to their African homelands more than 1,000 student insurrectionists in the past six months.

There's no great mystery in what is happening here. Our enemies are promoting a civil war in the United States. "It can't happen here" is a totally dangerous philosophy.

DANVILLE, VA.
REGISTER

M - 10,649
S - 22,245
MAR 26 1970

Mirror Of Soviet Aims

In nations where the press has no freedom except to print what the government directs, it is enlightening to take a national temperature by the degree of criticism in a controlled publication.

The Soviet Government alternately has been hot or cool vis-a-vis the United States in its super power foreign policy. This was reflected early this month by the Soviet magazine, *Life Abroad*, when it built editorial fires in a harsh criticism of President Nixon's foreign policy blueprint and thereby led our own officials to take a closer look at Soviet foreign policy in Asia and in the Middle East, where the action is.

The *Life Abroad* editorialist heavily-handedly described the Nixon policy statement as "astounding in its verbosity, replete with empty phrases, boastful affirmations of American policy and ignorant or deliberately distorted utterances on the policy of adversaries." Specifically, the article lashed out at "deliberate disregard of the solidarity of the Socialist countries, expressed in repelling American aggression in Vietnam, aid to the Arab countries—victims of the Zionist rulers of Israel, the hirelings of American imperialism."

All of which sounds like the compliments exchanged between those giants of Socialism and solidarity—the Soviet Union and Red China. Strangely, no mention was made of the border struggle and the constant threats of massive attack passing between Moscow and Peking.

The article tossed off the invasion of Czechoslovakia and the previous repulsions in East Berlin and Hungary as necessary to repel "CIA-organized rebellion."

Nor did it talk about the BREZHNEV attempt to form a Kremlin-sponsored collective security system in Asia, which fell flat because small Asian nations saw through it as an attempt to gain allies to encircle Communist China.

All foreign policy is self-serving. Otherwise, why should great nations expand effort, money and often life in its pursuit? But at least President Nixon has put his cards on the table, so to speak. He made as frank, open and considerate statement of American goals abroad—goals which serve American interests and the interests of peace—as any nation ever has done. For a Soviet spokesman to call it ignorant and distorted shows how much the truth hurt—in Moscow.

Distortion and misrepresentation are not the way to peace. Such a retort as that in the Soviet magazine indicates that the Kremlin does not want peace. It is on a road to expansion, in the Middle East and in Asia. It hides its aims behind criticism of our own without admitting its nefarious objectives.

So long as it does, Americans and other free people should constantly remind themselves of the exhortation of the Irishman, JOHN PHILLIP CURRAN, that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

Soviet diplomat's expulsion sought

2nd RUSSIAN'S ACTIVITIES UNDER ATTACK BY MPs

By PETER WORTHINGTON
 Telegram Staff Reporter

Two Soviet diplomats, thought to be KGB officers, are suspected of dabbling in espionage in Canada.

The Estonian Central Council in Canada is asking External Affairs Minister Mitchell Sharp to expel one of them.

Federal Members of Parliament have complained to the RCMP about the attentions of the other, who is pushing hard to establish social contacts with MPs.

The two diplomats are believed to be lieutenant colonels in the KGB, the Soviet espionage service. They are First Secretary Vladimir Kaluzhny and Mikhail Murnikov. Murnikov is the longest-serving Soviet diplomat in Ottawa (five years in November).

He is accused by the Estonians of "spreading innuendoes, half-truths and apprehensions . . . pressure tactics and implied threats to cause dissension and fear among members of our community."

The council is asking the Government to expel him from Canada. The letter is signed by council president Ilmar Heinsoo, and five senior members.

In Ottawa, Kaluzhny has been establishing contacts among politicians and key civil servants.

He's had dealings with more than 20 MPs, and often drops in unannounced on them.

There is no suggestion of any impropriety on the part of any Canadian. Parliamentarians are aware of the case of British Labor MP William Owen, who was apparently sucked into espionage through the initially innocent social attentions of a Czech diplomat who turned out to be an intelligence officer. Mr. Owen goes on trial in April.

Many of the MPs have reported Kaluzhny to the RCMP and have complained about his attentions.

"He's just feeling his way so far," says Steve
 Thompson, Progressive Conservative MP for Edmon-

continued

HAZLETON, PENNA.
STANDARD-SPEAKER

E-22,319

MAR 10 1970

Super Power Foreign Policy

Harsh Soviet criticism of President Nixon's foreign policy blueprint prompted a close look at Soviet foreign policy, especially in Asia and the Middle East, "where the current action is."

A Soviet magazine, "Life Abroad", described the Nixon policy statement as "astounding in its verbosity, replete with empty phrases, boastful affirmations of American policy and ignorant or deliberately distorted utterances on the policy of adversaries." Specifically, the article lashed out at "deliberate disregard of the solidarity of the Socialist countries, expressed in repelling American aggression in Vietnam, aid to the Arab countries — victims of the Zionist rulers of Israel, the hirelings of American imperialism."

The "solidarity of Socialist countries" did not mention the border struggle of the two Communist giants — the Soviet Union and mainland China. It tossed off the invasion of Czechoslovakia and previous expulsions of East Berlin and Hungary as

necessary to repel "CIA-organized rebellion." Nor did it talk about the Brezhnev attempt to form a Kremlin-sponsored collective security system in Asia, which fell flat because small Asian nations saw through it as an attempt to gain allies to encircle Communist China.

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